Politics of Spectacle: The Royal Entry of James I (1604)

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1. Royal Entry and the Power of Illusion

The Renaissance had many concepts of kingship, but central to all of them was the notion of the ruler as an exemplary figure. What was crucial was the image of the monarch, or the appearance of his virtue, whether it accorded with an inner reality or not. The royal entry and the accompanying pageants were vehicles for the glorification of monarchical imagery.

The royal entry, inherited from the Middle Ages, had been a simple procession until the middle of the fourteenth century[1]. Clergy, town officers, bourgeoisie and members of the guilds met the king at the city gate and conducted him into town. But by the end of the century this elementary welcome had been elaborated by the introduction of street pageants organised by the guilds. Everywhere throughout Europe from the fifteeth until the sixteenth century the pageants performed for the royal entry looked medieval paintings and manuscript illuminations come to life. Medieval pageantry of this type survived until the late sixteenth century in England, Scotland, the Low countries, and provincial France. Elizabeth I's entry into London in 1559 was still within such a tradition.

During the fifteenth century in Italy the royal entry had been gradually transmuted into an imperial triumph, the presentation of the prince

as a victorious hero. Leonardo da Vinci's reception of Louis XII into Milan was done according to the ancient custom of the Romans[2]. The prince was in a triumphal car on which there was a seat of Victory supported by Fortitude, Prudence, and Renown. The procession passed beneath a magnificent triumphal arch decorated with paintings of Louis XII's victories.

By the close of the fifteenth century in Italy the royal entry transformed its medieval style into the Roman style of triumph. During the sixteenth century this development produced a great effect on the visual form of the royal entry north of the Alps. The classical arches covered with emblems and allegories in paint and sculpture became the symbol of splendour of the monarch. The royal entry thus played a crucial part in the cult of the monarch as hero. By means of myth and allegory, the triumphal arches and the accompaning pageants contributed to exalt the glory of the monarch.

2. The Royal Entry of James I (1604)

On 15 March 1604 the city of London turned out in full splendour for the royal progression of James I. Since the dismal days of Queen Elizabeth's death, the arrival of the new king had been craved. Preparations were extensive and had begun the previous year[3]. Early in March 1603 the Common Council established a committee to determine "the beste and fyttest meanses to be performed by this citie"[4] in receiving the new monach into the city at the time of his coronation.

Triumphal arches and pageants were planned for the celebration of the royal entry. The design of the arches was commissioned to the architect and joiner, Stephen Harrison, and the pageants were entrusted to

Thomas Dekker and Ben Jonson. Seven vast arches were erected along the processional route, the largest of which was ninety feet high and fifty feet wide[5]. The arches were crowded with images and emblems, showing variety of ornament from the architectural and iconographic handbooks of the age. Pillars, pyramids, obelisks, and domes sprouted all over these hybrid structures. The arches themselves functioned as examles of the architecture of morality, with all the components contributing to the exposition of moral arguments.

Stephen Harrison went beyond the assigned task and printed a book *The Arches of Triumph,* which included the drawings of the seven arches and some text of the pageants[6]. Ben Jonson also published the account of the Entertainment for which he was responsible for producing pageants. Jonson's description was minute and gave a detailed account of the costume and emblems assigned to each allegorical figure on the arch. He believed that the symbol ascribed to the allegorical figure was not a mere emblem, but an implicit moral statement, and that the garment and the ensign should display the nature of the figure:

> . . . the Symboles vsed, are not, neither ought to be, simply Hieroglyphickes, Emblemes, or Impreses, but a mixed character, partaking somewhat of all, and peculiarly apted to these more magnificent Inuentions: wherein, the garments and ensignes the nature of the person, and the word the present office. Neither was it becomming, or could it stand with the dignitie of these shewes . . . to require a Truch-man, or . . . one to write, This is a Dog; or This is a Hare: but so to be presented, as vpon the view, they might, without cloud, or obscurite, declare themselues to the sharpe and learned . . . .
> (*Works*, VII, pp. 90-91)

To be familiar with those allegories is essential for the full appreciation of the Entertainment. Jonson paid a compliment to the discerning royals and courtiers by the comment that the difficult symbols declared themselves on sight to "the sharpe and learned" without any explanatory signs to show their meaning such as "This is a Dog; or, This is a Hare".

Indeed, the well-educated aristocracy and member of the Court were adept at interpreting the allegorical figures and devices. Even so, the allegory of this triumphal arch was in advance of current understanding and taste. The vogue for emblem books had not really begun and only four emblem books in English had published by 1604[7]. The mottoes of most of the figures on the arch cannot have been widely known among the contemporary English. Therefore, Jonson's detailed account of the arch design was intended to serve as an exact record of the historic Entertainment. And at the same time the book announced his own vast amount of knowledge in iconography. To decipher the allegorical devices Jonson used Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia,* from which he derived his material throughout his career to introduce new personifications in his other royal entertainments[8]. *Iconologia* was the most serviceable and standard emblem book, but was scarcely known in England at that time[9]. In describing the arches Jonson went beyond Harrison's original design by the novel introductions of the symbolic attributes which he derived from *Iconologia.* The minutely detailed account of the Entertainment was a permanent record of a transient show, and at the same it was an advertisement of his own advanced skills in iconography.

The first arch erected at Fenchurch Street demonstrates the relationships that should exist between the King and the City. On top of the arch

is a wide panorama of the City adorned with houses, towers, steeples, and churches[10]. Below the city panorama is the emblem of wise government and interdependence of the City and the King which is represented in allegorical figures. The central figure on the facade is the British monarch, seated beneath the two crowns of England and Scotland with a globe on the lap. The figure supporting the monarch is Divine Wisdom, Theosophia. Standing beneath her is the Genius of the City, accompanied by Sage Counsel on his right side and Warlike Force on his left. The imagined daughters of the Genius — Gladness, Veneration, Promptitude, Vigilance, Affection, and Unanimity — stand on both sides of the monarch as handmaidens.

The arch is not only the "expression of state and magnificence (as proper to a triumphall Arch) but the very site, fabricke, strength, policie, dignitie, and affections of the Citie" (*Works,* VII, p. 90). Each allegorical figure is the personification of the virtues expected to support the City. Jonson's description was elaborate in detail. Theosophia is dressed all in white with a blue mantle spangled with stars, and a crown of stars on the head[11]. Her garments symbolise truth, innocence, and clearness. She is always looking up. In one hand she holds a dove, which signifies her simplicity, and in the other a serpent, which shows her subtlety. Sage Counsel is attired in black and purple with a wreath of oak upon the head. On the left arm is a scarlet robe, and in the right hand "the Fasces", as tokens of magistracy. Warlike Force is in an antique coat, or armour, with a target and sword. He wears a helm crowned with laurel, which implies strength and conquest. He holds the standard of the City with the motto "EXTINGVERE ET HOSTEIS", whose meaning is that with those arms of councel and strength the Genius is able to defeat the king's enemies and to defend his citizens against them. Gladness is dressed in

green with a mantle of various colours embroidered with varieties of flowers. On the head she has a garland of mirtle, in the right hand a crystal filled with wine, in the left hand a cup of gold, and at the feet a tambourine, harp, and other instruments, which ensign gladness. Veneration is in an ash-coloured dress and with a vail over the ash-coloured head. She crosses her hands, with her eyes half closed. Promptitude is attired in a short tucked garment of flame-colour, with wings on the back. She is crowned with a chaplet of "trifoly" which expresses readiness and openness. In the right hand she holds a squirrel, the creature most full of life and quickness, and in the left hand a round censor with the perfume at the sides. Vigilance wears a yellow garment and sable mantle with a waking-eyes pattern. In one hand she has a lamp, which signifies search and sight, and in the other a bell, warning. Affection is in crimson dress fringed with gold, with a mantle of flame-colour. She has a chaplet of red and white roses, as the symbol of a mixture of simplicity with love, and a flaming heart, as the symbol of zeal. Unanimity is in blue clothes with a chaplet of blue lillies, which shows one truth and entireness of mind. She is weaving certain small silver twists, with a sheaf of arrows on the lap.

This extravagant arch has a long Latin inscription in the praise of the king, with a curtain of silk covering the centre like thick clouds. But at the approach of James I the curtain is drawned and the whole inscription is revealed. The meaning behind the allegory of the device is, in Jonson's words, that "those clouds were gathered vpon the face of the Citie, through their long want of his most wished sight: but now, as at the rising the Sunne, all mists were dispersed and fled" (*Works,* VII, p. 90). The pageant begins with the speech of the Genius of the City. He is attired in purple, and his long, white hair is crowned with a wreath of

plane tree. He holds a goblet in one hand, and a branch full of little twigs in the other, which signifies increase and indulgence. The Genius expresses bliss to have the most longed moment that none of the predecessors had enjoyed:

Time, Fate, and Fortune haue at length conspir'd,
To giue our Age the day so much desir'd.
What all the minutes, houres, weekes, months, and yeares,
That hang in file vpon these siluer haires,
Could not produce, beneath the Britaine stroke,
The Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman yoke,
This point of Time hath done.
(*Works,* VII, p. 91 , 270−76)

The Genius then adresses to London and asks her to show great joy and gratitude at the approach of the new monarch:

. . . Now London reare
Thy forehead high, and on it striue to weare
Thy choisest gems; teach they steepe Towres to rise
Higher with people: set with sparkling eyes
Thy spacious windowes; and in euery street,
Let throunging ioy, loue, and amazement meet.
Cleaue all the ayre with showtes, and let the cry
Strike through as long, and vniuersally,
At thunder; for thou now art blist to see
That sight, for which thou didst begin to be.
(*Works,* VII, pp. 91−92, 276−85)

Then the Genius recollects the earliest days of Britain, when it was first settled by Trojans:

> When BRVTUS plough first gaue infant bounds,
> And I, thy GENIVS walk't auspicious rounds
> In euery furrow;then did I forelooke,
> And saw this day mark't white in CLOTHO's booke.
> The seuerall circles, both of change and sway,
> Within this Isle, there also figur'd lay:
> Of which the greatest, perfectest, and last
> Was this, whose present happinesse we tast.
> (*Works,* VII, p. 92, 286－93)

The Tudors professed descent from the Trojans in order to give historical depth to a recently successful family[12]. James's right to the English throne was derived from Henry VII[13], so he naturally appropriated the myth of the Trojan origin of the Tudors. By introducing the old legends of the Trojan foundation of Britain through the mouth of the Genius, Ben Jonson created a new legend based on the old one: King James was the first modern king to restore the sovereign unity that the British Isles were known in legend to have enjoyed in ancient times. The accession of James to the English throne was thus described as the rivival of the old myth which the British Isles had long cherished.

After the recollection the Genius turns his eyes to River Thames, Tamesis. He wears a blue, thin coat and a blue mantle, with bracelets of willow and sedge, and a crown of sedge, reed, and water lillies upon the head. He has beard and a long hair. The Genius rouses the River from his

sleep and asks him to "swell with pride／Avoue thy bankes" (*Works,* VII, p. 93, 302－7). Tamesis, first puzzled about why he should show his power, soon is filled with "the flood of ioy, that comes with him" and claims that "I／Boast our delights, albe't we silent lie" (*Works,* VII, p. 93, 313－19).

Following the delightful speech of Tamesis the Genius shows his gratulation to welcome the most desired king:

I tender thee the heartiest welcome, yet
That euer king had to his empires seate:
Neuer came man, more long'd for, more desir'd:
And being come, more reuerenc'd, lou'd, admir'd:
(*Works,* VII, p. 93, 334－37)

The Genius expects King James to be "a broade spreading Tree" to shelter the realm and to bring prosperity to the state by its growth:

doe I stoope t[o]' embrace
This springing glory of thy godlike race;
His countries wonder, hope, loue, ioy and pride:
How well dooth he become the royall side
Of this erected, and broade spreading Tree,
Vnder whose shade, may Brit[t]aine euer be.
And from this branch, may thousand branches more
Shoote o're the maine, and knit with euery shore
In bonds of marriage, kinred, and increase;
And stile this land, the nauill of their peace.
(*Works,* VII, p. 94, 340－49)

The hopeful speeches to celebrate the new reign leads to the Genius's prophetic statement that the royal house of James I should flourish and never decay despite the mortality of the king himself:

> So, whilst you mortall are,
> No taste of sowre mortalitie once dare
> Approch your house; nore fortune greete your grace
> But comming on, and with a forward face.
> (*Works,* VII, p. 94, 368−71)

The pageant of the final triumphal arch at Temple Bar provided by Jonson celebrated the restoration of the Golden Age. This arch constitutes a Temple of Janus. The frontispiece of the arch has brass walls and gates, silver pillars with gold capitals and bases, and a Janus head on the top with the title of QUADRIFON incribed over the head[14]. This is an appropriate title for Janus because, as Jonson explains, "he respecteth all climates, and fills all parts of the world with his maiestie" (*Works,* VII, p. 95). Janus exerts a power to divide a year into four seasons. He is "the beginnings and ends of things" (*Works,* VII, p. 95) as well as "the charge and custodie of the whole world" (*Works,* VII, p. 96). Beneath the Janus head are the arms of the kingdom with the garter, crown, and supporters, with a hexastich written underneath, all of which express "the dignitie, and power of him that should close that temple" (*Works,* VII, p. 96).

The principal allegorical figures in the temple are Peace, Quiet, Liberty, and Felicity. The secondary personifications are: Mars at the feet of Peace, Tumult under the feet of Quiet, Servitude trod by Liberty, Unhap-

piness at the feet of Felicity, Wealth by the side of Peace, and Safety, the handmaid of Peace, trampling on Danger.

The first and principal figure is Peace. She is placed in the middle of the temple with the other figures beneath her. Her attire is white with stars scattered over it. She has a wreath of olive on the head and a silver dove on the shoulder. Her left hand offers an olive branch, and the right hand a crown of laurel, which symbolises victory and plenty. Wealth is a little boy with his locks curled and adorned with gold. His body is almost naked except with a rich robe cast over him. He holds in his arms a heap of gold ingots to express riches. Mars is grovelling at the feet of Peace, with his armour scattered upon him in several pieces and weapons broken around him. Quiet, the first handmaid of Peace, is a grave and venerable woman in black dress. Upon the head is an artificial nest, out of which appear storks' heads to symbolise a sweet repose. She steps upon a cube, which signifies stability. On the lap she holds a perpendicular or a level, as the ensign of evenness and rest. Tumult is in a dark coloured garment, with wild hair and troubled face. She has staves, swords, ropes, chains, hammers, stones, and the like which express turmoil. The second handmaid, Liberty, is in a white, antique dress. Her hair is flowing down her back and shoulder. In the right hand she has a club, and in the left hand a hat, which demonstrates freedom and power. At the feet lies a cat, the creature that loves and values liberty. Servitude is a lean and meager woman in old and wornout garments. She has fetters on the feet and hands, and a yoke around the neck, all of which insinuate bondage. Safety is a young girl attired in carnation, a colour symbol of cheer and life. Upon the head she has an antique helm, in the right hand a spear for defence, and in the left hand a cup for medicine. She is standing on a pedestal upon which a serpent lies roled up. Danger wears almost nothing

except a little garment of several colours which show her various disposition. Besides her is an instrument of her fury, a torch and a broken sword with a net and wolve's skin. Felicity is richly dressed in an embroidered robe and mantle. In the right hand she holds a Caduceus as note of peaceful wisdom, and in the left hand a Cornucopia with flowers, as a sign of florishing blessedness. She is also crowned with a garland of flowers. At her feet is Unhappiness, a woman with the naked head, neck, breasts, and feets. She looks hollow and pale. She holds a Cornucopia turned downward with all the flowers falling out and scattered. Upon her sits a raven, the augury of ill fortune. These allegorical figures speak nothing even in the pageant; however, they present "the dumbe argument of the frame" that the Golden Age is restored, "wherein Peace was with vs so aduanced, Rest receiued, Liverie restored, Safetie assured, and all Blessednesse appearing in every of these vertues her particular triumph ouer her opposite euill" (*Works,* VII, p. 100).

The speaking parts are played by the Flamen and the Genius of the City at the altar erected under the round arch of the temple. The Flamen is a civic priest elected among the nobility for the rites to Mars. He wears a long crimson robe as a sign of his nobility. His tippets and sleeves are white, which shows purity in his religion. The rich mantle of gold with a train expresses the dignity of his function. Upon the head is a corn-shaped hat of soft wool.

When king James' party is finally at the arch, the Flamen, having first kindled fire on top of the altar, starts censing around the altar by his golden censor with perfume. At the moment he is interrupted by the Genius, who criticises the Flamen for kindling "vn-hallowed fire／ Vpon the altar" (*Works,* VII, p. 101, 556－57). The Flamen defends himself against his remarks by explaining that "the noise, and present tumult of

this day／ Rowsd me from sleepe, and silence" (*Works,* VII, p. 101, 563－64) and made him realise that "The Ides of March were entred, and I bound／ With these, to celebrate the geniall feast. Of ANNA stil'd PERENNA, MARS his guest" (*Works,* VII, p. 101, 568－70). March is the month of Mars and the great feast is yearly celebrated at his altars. Since the Flamen serves the rites to Mars, censing the altar on the festive day is the appropriate practice for him.

Hearing the Flamen's explanation, the Genius admits that "this is MARS his moneth; and these the Ides,／ Wherein his ANNE was honor'd" (*Works,* VII, p. 102, 585－86). Yet he refutes the Flamen's ignorant old faith in the power of Mars and then leads him to the recognition of the new power, the mightier and more virtuous sovereign, James I:

> . . . Loe, there is hee,
> Who brings with him a greater ANNE then she:
> Whose strong and potent vertues haue defac'd
> Sterne MARS his statues, and vpon them plac'd
> His, and the worlds b[l]est blessings:This hath brought
> Sweet peace to sit in that bright state shee ought,
> Vnbloudie,or vntroubled; hath forc'd hence
> All tumults, feares, or other darke portents
> That might inuade weake minds; hath made men see
> Once more the face of welcome libertie:
> And doth (in all his present acts) restore
> That first pure world, made of the better ore.
> (*Works,* VII, p. 102, 589－600)

The Genius proclaims that the king accompanied by Queen Ann, "the

greater ANNE then shee", has brought "Sweet peace" and restored "That first pure world", the Golden Age. In the Golden Age restored,

> Now innocence shall cease to be the spoyle
> Of rauenous greatnesse, or to steepe the soyle
> Of raysed pesantrie with teares, and bloud;
> No more shall rich men (for their little good)
> suspect to be made guiltie; or vile spies
> Enioy the lust of their so murdring eyes:
> Men shall put off their yron minds, and hearts;
> The time forget his old malicious arts
> With this new minute; and no print remayne
> Of what was thought the former ages stayne.
> (*Works*, VII, pp. 102−103, 600−10).

Therefore, the Genius suggests that at the outset of the new age the Flamen should leave "with thy superstitious fumes,／ And cense not here" (*Works*, VII, p. 103, 611−12). At the same time he offers that he will take the charge of maintaining the fire as the flame of Peace.

The Genius concludes his speeches with the blessing for the fortunate reign of James I:

> Be all thy thoughts aborne perfect, and thy hopes
> In their euents still crown'd beyond their scopes.
> Let not wide heauen that secret blessing know
> To giue, which shee on thee will not bestow.
> Blind Fortune be thy slaue; and may her store
> (The lesse thou seek'st it) follow thee the more.

(*Works,* VII, p. 104, 631－36)

The final device of the Entertainment, devised by Jonson, is a tableau located in the Strand. It is not a triumphal arch, but a composite of a rainbow, the moon, the sun, and seven stars "which antiquitie hath styl'd the Pleiades, or Vergilioe, aduanced betweene two magnificent Pyramid's of 70 foot in height, on which are drawne his Maiesties seurall pedigrees Eng. and Scot" (*Works,* VII, p. 106). The speaking part is played by Electra, who is seen to be floating in the air in the figure of a Comet (*Works,* VII, p. 106). She reveals the meaning of the tableau by her beautiful portrayal:

The long laments I spent for ruin'd Troy,
Are dried; and now mine eyes run teares of ioy.
No more shall men suppose ELECTRA dead,
Though from the consort of her sisters fled
Vnto the Arctick circle, here to grace,
And gild this day with her serenest face:
And see, my daughter Iris hasts to throw
Her roseat wings, in compasse of a bow,
About our state, as signe of my approach:
Attracting to her seate from Mithras coach,
A thousand different, and particular hiewes,
Which she throughout her body doth diffuse.
The Sunne, as loth to part from this halfe spheare,
Stands still; and Phoebe labors to appeare
In all as bright (if not as rich) as he:

and, for a note of more serenity,
My sixe faire sisters hither shift their lights;
To do this hower the vtmost of her rites.
. . .
Let ignorance know, great king, this day is thine,
And doth admit no night;but all doe shine
As well nocturnall, as diurnall fires,
To adde vnto the flame of our desires.
(*Works,* VII, pp. 107−8, 702−27)

Electra's six sisters, represented by six stars, are shining to grace this day. Her daughter Iris, the rainbow, hastens to throw her rosy wings above the State. The sun loathes to leave and stays here, while the moon, Phoebe, is trying to be as bright as the sun. These heavenly bodies has gathered to be seen at once to admire the splendour of the new monarch and to brighten "the flame of our desires" for the new government.

Electra's speech goes to the blessing for the new reign in high hopes of the peaceful and fair government of James I:

. . . (now thou has closd vp IANVS gates,
And giu'n so generall peace to all estates)
That no offensiue mist, or cloudie staine
May mixe with splendor of thy golden raigne;
But, as th'ast free'd thy Chamber, from the noyse
Of warre and tumult; thou wilt powre those ioyes
Vpon this place, which claimes to the feate
Of all thy kingly race: the cabinet
To all thy counsels; and the iudging chayre

To this thy speciall kingdome. Who[se] so faire
And wholsome lawes, in enery court, shall striue
By AEquitie, and their first innocence to thriue;
The base and guiltie bribes of guiltier men
Shall be throwne backe, and inustice looke, as when
She lou'd the earth, and feard not to be sold
For that, which worketh all things to it, gold.
(*Works,* VII, p. 108, 730−43)

Now that King James has passed through the gate of the Janus temple and consesquently has brought peace to his realm, nothing may cloud or stain the splendour of James's Court. Since the king has freed London from the noise of war and tumult as mentioned in the previous pageant, James I will pour those joys of peace upon the city of Westminster. The fair and wholesome laws will govern the kingdom and they will be fair enough to allow modification for the improvement, following the legal principle of equity. In the new Court, bribery, the common practice among the contemporary courtiers, will be prevented and justice will not be sold for gold. Electra's speech here implies concrete advice from the unpleasant experiences in the last government of Queen Elizabeth. It is not the mere beautiful admiration for the king's supposed and expected virtuous reign, but rather a direct and plain request for the fair government.

The realistic advice is then followed by a prophecy that promises a Golden era freed from all kinds of evils:

The dam of other euils, auarice,
Shall here locke downe her iawes, and that rude vice
Of ignorant, and pittied greatnesse, pride,

Decline with shame; ambition now shall hide
Her face in dust, as dedicate to sleepe,
That in great portalls wont her watch to keep.
All ills shall flie the light: Thy court be free
No lesse from enuie, then from flatterie;
All tumult, faction, and harsh discord cease,
That might perturbe the musique of thy peace:
The querulous nature shall no longer find
Roome for his thoughts: One pure consent of mind
Shall flow in euery brest, and not the ayre,
Sunne, moone, or starres shine more serenely faire.
(*Works,* VII, p. 108, 744−57)

In James's Court, avarice, ignorace, pride, ambition, and other evils will find no place to prosper. The Court will be freed from envy and flattery. All tumult, faction, and harsh discord will never disturb the music of peace that the king conducts. The ill-contented will no longer find rooms for his thoughts in the Court. Everyone is in perfect harmony under the reign of King James. The king will shed more peaceful and fairer light on the subject than those heavenly bodies shining above the earth.

The function of pagentry is to demonstrate ideal images of kingship and good government. Creating a mythology for the new monarchy at the very outset of his reign is essential to public morale and to courtly prestige. With the help of elaborate costume and gorgeous architectural setting, pageanty seeks to convey a moral theme. Jonson's pageants present how James should play the heroic role crucial for the ideal monarchy, where peace dominates and virtue triumphs over vice.

3. Prologue to a Spectacle of Political Illusion

Despite the ambitious design of the Entertainment and enthusiastic welcome by the people, King James showed little appreciation[15]. The king hastened along the ceremonial way, without conferring the least grace to his people for the return of the most splendid welcome he received in the coronation progress. He never attended closely to the scenes or speeches, nor addressed the people nor showed any evident delight. A seventeenth century historian, Arthur Wilson, recorded thus:

> . . . the City and Suburbs being one great Pageant, wherein he must give his ears leave to suck in their gilded Oratory, though never so nauseous to the stomach. He was not like his Predecessor, the late Queen of famous memory, that with a well-pleased affection met her peoples Acclamations. . . . He endured this day's brunt with patience, being assured he should never have such another; and his triumphal riding to Parliament that followed[16].

Queen Elizabeth took every convenient opportunity to show 'Gloriana' to her people for the sake of royal propaganda[17]. The Queen's routine progress through London took place in great splendour, with huge processions of courtiers, guards, and delegations from the City's livery companies in attendance[18]. Throughout royal progresses and the following pageants the Queen had been the focus of attention, and she was always very careful about how to play 'her role' and how "we princes . . . observed"[19] by her people.

James knew the importance to fulfil the public role that Queen Elizabeth successfully played. He expressed his awareness of royal respon-

sibility in his treatise on kingship, *Basilikon Doron,* published before the accession to England's throne: "a king is as one set on a stage, whose smallest actions and gestures, all the people gazingly doe behold"[20]. In principle James was fully aware of the role; in practice, however, he was short of a talent for a good player of a king.

There were fewer progress pageants in the Jacobean era and this decline was largely due to the temperament of King James[21]. He did not care much for the public shows, and thus he could not be as gracious as Elizabeth who had used the royal procession for political propaganda. He did not like to appear before cheering crowds and sometimes treated them with open contempt. A Venetian ambassador had remarked thus:

> He does not caress the people nor make them that good cheer that the late Queen did, whereaby she won their loves; for the English adore their sovereigns, and if the King passed through the streets a hundred times a day the people would still run to see him; they like their King to show pleasure at their devotion, as the late Queen knew well how to do; but this King manifests no taste for them but rather contempt and dislike. The result is he is despised and almost hated[22].

James could not fulfil the public role that Elizabeth had succefully played. He remained confined within the narrow courtly circle and away from the public shows.

James's retreat into the Court circle failed to establish a national cult. Yet it encouraged the development of the court masque. Queen Ann's ambition to dazzle the Court with splendours comparable to those of European Courts, and King James's desire to push his Court into the front

rank of European monarchies both enhanced the sophistication of the masque[23]. Ben Jonson, who cleverly displayed his knowledge of iconography in the Entertainment, won the royal favour and set off to promote the proliferation of monarchical imagery in the form of court masque.

Whatever the actualities of King James and his Court, Jonson's praise of the king was consistent. The spiritual and moral greatness of the king was symbolically revealed through the mouths of dramatic figures and made visible by the elaborate machinery in a series of masque. Pageantry for the royal entry in 1604 was the prologue to a dazzling spectacle of political illusion that the Jacobean Court created.

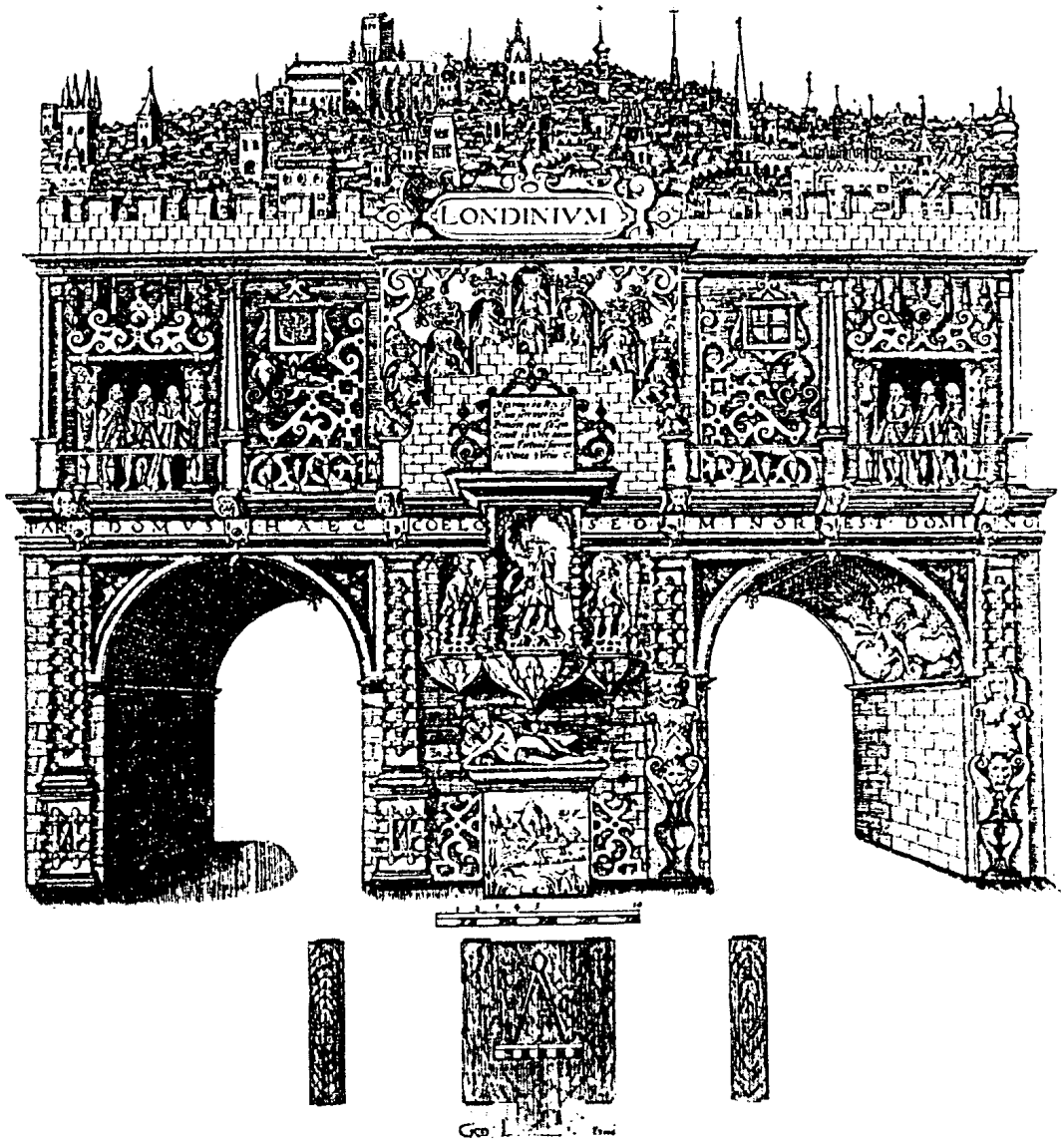

Plate 1.　Londinium arch at Fenchurch, 1604 royal entry in London. Plates are from Stephen Harrison's *Arches of Triumph* (London, 1604).

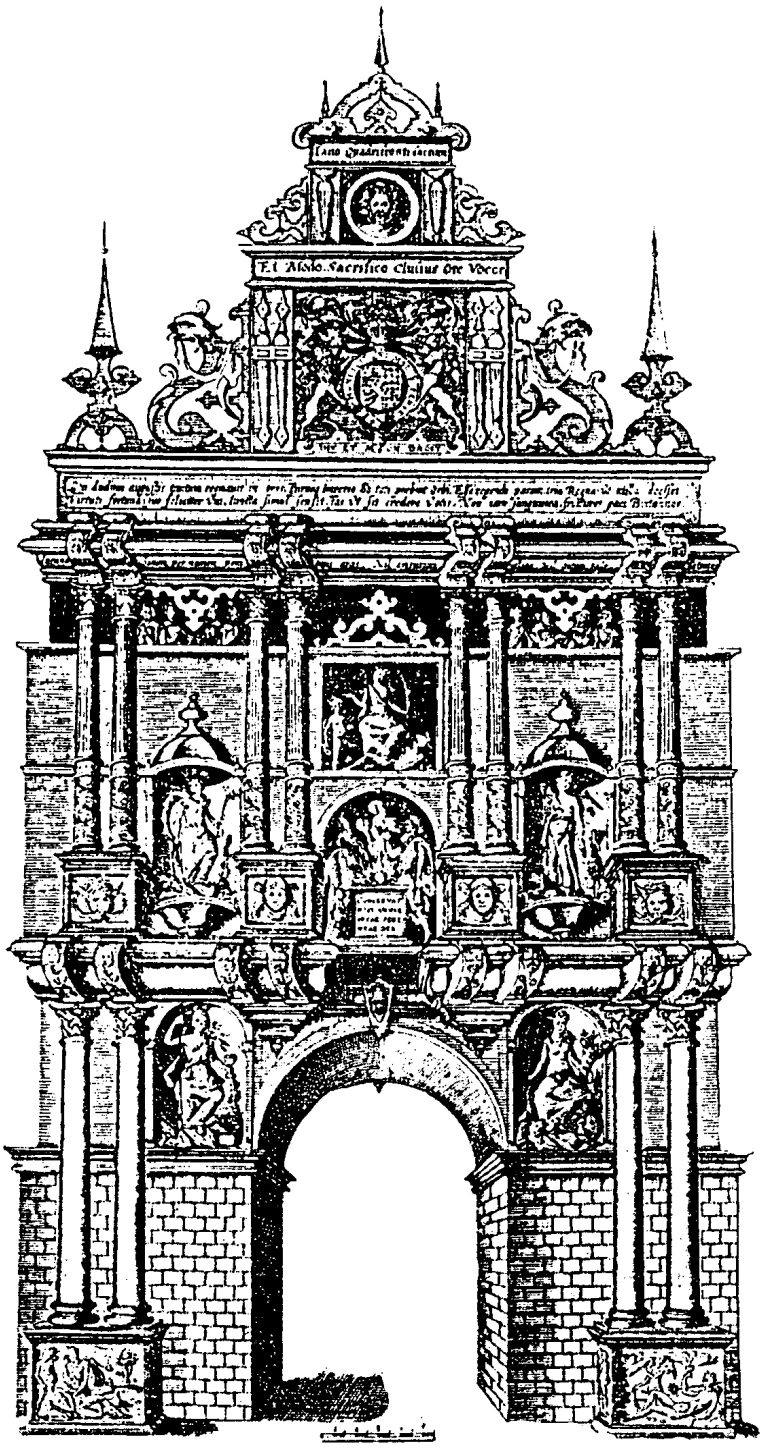

Plate 2. The Temple of Janus at Temple Bar

NOTES:

1) On the development of the royal entry, see Roy Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), Chapter 2; and Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450−1650* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1984), Part One.
2) *loc. cit.*
3) Thomas Dekker described the elaborate preparation in his text of the Entertainment for the royal entry in 1604. See *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First,* ed. John Nichols, 4 vols. (London: J. B. Nichols, 1828)
4) *Corporation of London Records, City Journal,* XXVI,fol. 74, quoted in David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558−1642* (Columbia, South Carolina: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1971), p. 73.
5) Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603−42* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), p. 2.
6) Ben Jonson, *Ben Jonson,* ed. C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1941), vol. VII, p. 77. Hereafter any quotation from *Ben Jonson* will be cited as *Works,* VII, p. xx.
7) Parry, pp. 6−7.
8) *loc. cit.* The first edition of *Iconologia* was 1593. Parry notes that Jonson probably used the 1603 edition for the Entertainment in 1604.
9) *loc. cit.*
10) My explanation of the arch is based upon Jonson's in *Works,* VII, pp. 83−90.
11) *Works,* VII, pp. 84−89.
12) Parry, pp. 8−9.
13) *loc. cit.*
14) *Works,* VII,pp. 95−100.
15) Parry, p. 21; and see also *James I by His Contemporaries,* ed. Robert Ashton (London: Hutchinson, 1969)
16) Arthur Wilson, *The Life and Reign of James the First* (1653), p. 13, quoted in Parry, p. 21.
17) On the progresses of Elizabeth I and the accompanying pageants, see John Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* (London: J. Nichols and Son, 1823); R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania

Press, 1987); and Bergeron.

18) Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, pp. 451−54.

19) J. E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments* (New York, 1958), 2:119, quoted in Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (London: Univ. of California Press, 1975), p. 42.

20) *Political Works of James I,* ed. C. H. McIlwain (1616; repr., NewYork: Russell & Russell Inc., 1965), p. 43.

21) Bergeron, p. 65.

22) Nicolo Molin, June 1607, quoted in Smuts, p. 27.

23) Parry, p. 42.

Politics of Spectacle: The Royal Entry of James I (1604)

Yoshiko Ono

The royal entry developed in the Renaissance Europe was a vehicle for the glorification of monarchical imagery. The coronation entry of James I and the pageants were devised to create a mythology for the new monarchy. The triumphal arches with emblems and allegorical figures erected along the processional route were the symbol of the expected wise government of the virtuous king. The accompanying pageants embodied the moral arguments that the arches signified.

The introductory part of this paper will make a brief survey of the development of the royal entry in Europe. The second part will examine the function of the triumphal arches and the accompanying pageants at the time of James I's coronation. The focus of my examination here will be Ben Jonson's contribution to this royal entry. The last part will be concluded with the analysis of the decline of processions and the subsequent flourishing of the court masque in James's Court.